A PROPOSITION FOR

The Safety and Happiness of the KING and KINGDOM both in Church and State, and prevention of the Common Enemy.

Tendered to the Consideration of his Majesty and the Parliament against the tenth of *October*.

By a lover of Sincerity & Peace.

J. Humfrey

The *Second Edition*, revised, corrected and enlarged by the Author.

Together with a REPLY to the pretended ANSWER to it.

The Interest of *England* lies in holding a firm Union in it self, and the advancement of the *Protestant Religion*. For *England* is a mighty Animal, which can never die, except it kill it self. *The Duke of* Roan *in his Treatise of the Interest of the Princes and States in Christendom.*

London, Printed in the Year, 1667.

TO THE READER.

READER,

IF any interessed Episcopalian, shall be angry at the design of these Papers, let them know that the right Royal Cavalier, hath not espoused his concern. Where is the man for loyalty and sincerity to his King, for understanding of the Laws and bravery of mind, to die in their defence, to be compared with Judge Jenkins? And yet if you look into the conclusion general of his Papers, you shall find that the Restauration of the King, and liberty of Conscience, are still joyned by him for the making this Nation happy. We of the Kings party (saye he) did, and do detest all Grievances of the people as much as any men living; in his Lex Terræ.

It is a certain truth, This Kingdom without an Act of Oblivion, and the payment of the Souldiers Arrears, and a meet regard had to tender Consciences, will unavoidably be ruin'd. *The Armies Indemnity.*

I say again, That without a gracious general Pardon from his Majesty, the Arrears of the Souldier paid, and a favourable regard had to tender Consciences, there will be neither Truth nor Peace in the Land, nor any man secure of any thing he hath. *His Cordial for the good People of* London.

Again, *in his Declaration for Tryals of Treasons and all capital Crimes to be by a Jury.* They that love this Common-wealth, will use all means to procure an Act of Oblivion, the Souldier their Arrears, and tender Consciences a just and reasonable satisfaction, else we all must perish, first or last.

David Jenkins.

A PROPOSITION *for the Safety and Happiness of the King and* Kingdom.

IT hath pleased Heaven to visit us of late with his heavy and astonishing Judgments. The year before, he swept away our Citizens from their Houses; The last year, he swept away our Houses from the Inhabitants; And this year who knows what, and who might have been swept away by that divastation which accompanieth the Sword, if by God's gracious Providence it had not seasonably been put up? If there be not a

ſpark, as there is not a Sparrow, lights on the *Houſe*, or the *Maſt*-top without the Divine Will, methinks it will neither be unſeaſonable to lay his Providences to heart, nor unſuitable to make uſe of them, unto acts of mercy and commiſeration of others.

I am a perſon that am not very careful how I appear to You, and if it were a light matter I had to ſpeak about, You might turn away your Ear from it, and regard me as little: But if it be a buſineſs of the greateſt conſequence (as I am perſwaded it is) that can be tendred at this preſent for a healing of the Nation, I hope you will both ſpare me a reaſonable hearing, and a candid interpretation. There

There hath paſſed of late ſome Acts, whereby You have been very ſevere againſt many innocent perſons that fear God, and do You no harm. I am loth to declare my reſentments in particular, unleſs I have further neceſſity: But I will purſue in the general thoſe ends I have in my purpoſe, which are the Happineſs of our State, the Peace of the Church, the Safety of the King, and Preſervation of the Nation, not in that way which hath been trodden hitherto in late proceedings, but in the paths of moderation, which ſome have not known, and ſome will not know, who have already perhaps impoſed too much, and would not (I hope) be impoſing more on us.

It ſhall be a Riſe good enough for me from this late Calamity on the City and upon our Ships, to alarm You to the quenching thoſe Flames which You have help'd to enkindle by the over-rigour of ſuch Acts in the hearts of the Nation. God Almighty's righteous dealings towards you and us, may bring your own towards others into remembrance, and *his* Severity teach *you* Indulgence. It can neither be an unchriſtian or unwiſe admonition, when our *Churches*, with other buildings, are laid in heaps, to look after our *Religion*, & to prevent the ruine, which therein alſo doth threaten us, by beginning our repentance in thoſe aſhes.

I shall be clear and plain. I desire to be faithful to my Country, to my King, and to my God. I hope, though I know not how I shall approve my self in the delivery. *In magnis, pejus est illud, non voluisse, quam quomodo fadius, non intelligere.* We have been lately involved in Warrs abroad with our neighbours, and we are incompassed, as our Island is, with a Sea of intestine dangers amidst our selves, in the divisions of our people. There is the subtilty of the *Jesuits*, with those many, too much to be feared advantages of that party; and there is on the other side, the wilness of the *Sectary*, with their multitudes, and high exasperations. Both these are, as it were, the *upper* and *nether jaw* of destruction opening her mouth upon us: If we do not find out a way to reconcile the sober *Protestant*, that we may have their combined strength to oppose these extreams in case of inundation, I

know not how soon these jaws may shut upon us, and overwhelm us in our confusion.

The Motion therefore I have to make is for moderation in the business of Religion, first seriously debated, and then prudently concluded, in an Act of *Accommodation* between the *Conformists* and *Nonconformists* that are sober in their principles, and *Indulgence* toward others who are so in their lives: So far I mean as ever it will stand with the Rules, both of *Civil* and *Religious* Prudence, and the good *Order* of the Land.

I am sensible of what a pause there will be on some mens spirits at this Motion. I am with *Cæsar* at the flood of *Rubicon*, and the Dye is cast.

I will confess ingeniously, I know not how it fares with others, but there are a company of people about us in the Countrey of different persuasions, who meet sometimes many hundreds together, that our Justi-

ces

ces have been in perplexity what to do. The most of them, for ought I perceive, are certainly in offensive persons; and they have really no more against them than *Pliny* against the *Christians* of old when he sent to *Trajan* about them, that is, only that they meet, and preach, and pray together. And if that excellent Prince was ashamed after this report he gave him of them in his Epistle, to have those good men sought out any more unto punishment, I cannot but favour their inclinations, which are averse from the like inquisition. I profess to God it is such an ungentleman-like thing methinks to trouble ones Neighbours, that I should be glad to rid, modest men, of that work. It were better all these Acts suffered at once a due and Christian Regulation, than we should be still put upon this untoward dragging innocent folks thus to Prison, for doing nothing in earnest, but endeavouring

ring to ſave their ſouls. In the name of God take you your *Pſalter*, and let them ſay their prayers as they will.

I have made my Propoſition, I ſhall now offer you my Arguments. *Viſa eſt enim mihi* (with the forementioned Author) *res digna conſultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum; Multi enim omnis ætatis, omnis ordinis, utriuſque ſexus etiam vocantur in periculum, & vocabuntur. Neq; enim Civitates tantum, ſed vicos etiam atque agros ſuperſtitionis iſtius contagio pervagata eſt, quæ videtur ſiſti, & corrigi poſſe.*

My Arguments may be reduced to theſe heads. The courſe you have taken in your former Acts, will not reach the End you have deſigned in them. The way I propoſe in this Act is liker to do it. The preſent conſideration and exigency of affaires requires the ſame of you. One more, The preſent juncture of affairs, and conſcience toward your Brethren requires

quires it. These heads I will wrap together in my discourse, and leave the Analysis to your acuter Judgements.

If it were not a time to speak now, we might lay our hands upon our lips, and our mouths in the dust. *I said, Dayes should speak, and years teach wisdom. But there is a spirit in man. Great men are not alwayes wise, neither do the Aged alwayes understand Judgment.* I am sorry to understand such a reverend silence to have been on the spirits of both *Houses* at the present prevailing Counsels of some great Persons, which if I may speak it with lowlines to them, as with zeal unto God and my Prince, are not good at this season, nor will answer their entendments. I wonder really in whose Shops they have bought their Spectacles (not of *Menante* I believe or *Tacitus*) that they can see this great thing *Unity* (of folks spirits) in *Uniformity*, and the esta-

establishment of old Foundations in new Impositions. It is a principle of the serious tender Christian, which he layes as a Rule to himself for practice, That he will not do any thing for fear, which he would not out of conscience; and it is a deadly temptation against present Injunctions, that they have a penalty of such a nature annexed to them. For besides that the sense of the unreasonableness and cruelty of such Acts are effectual wires upon the affections, There is a spirit in man, and resolution of integrity, *Not to do evil that good may come of it*, as forestalls the mind with a steeling against it, instead of submission. If therefore in lieu of proposing such a piece of Banishment to fright the *Non-conformists* into the late Oath, enjoyned in the Act at *Oxford*, there had been offered a liberty of the Ministry on that condition, without any penalty, the Act had been perhaps more to

pur-

purpose. Conscience upon Conscience would do something, when Force upon Conscience will do nothing.

Have we never read the Ecclesiastical Story, or heard at least of the ten Persecutions, how the Church grew in those times, and what was the Seed of it? I will tell you a way that a Politick Prince took in ill doing, that you may take in doing better: The great *Julian*, that wise Apostate and cursed brave man, when he saw that all the cruelties of predecessors did but increase the vigour and life of Christanity, *The more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew and they were grieved because of the Children of Israel*; He took this course, he would not let any Christian have Dignity or State-preferment, no not so much as to be one of his Souldiers, unless they came over to his Religion; they might have their liberty to use their Consciences

ces to themſelves without perſecution, but they ſhould have none of his Favour or Countenance. By this means he did ſo ſtarve any brave attempt of Chriſtian Sufferings, and kept them ſo low and out of heart in their Profeſſion, that it is judged he made more waſte upon Chriſtianity in a few years, than all the Sword, Fire and Torments could before in two or three Ages. Lo here a line of Chalk, after which your Timber muſt be cut that goes to the building the Eccleſiaſticall State in this Nation. If there be any can cut it better by aim of his own head, I am miſtaken.

Vis Concilii expers, mole ruit ſua.
Vim temperatam, Dii provehunt in majus.

There

There are but two wayes, resolve upon it. In the Kingdom of *Japan* I heard lately there was some Jesuites had crept in and planted the Christian Religion. Their King hearing this, sends a present terrible Persecution, whatsoever man is found *Christian*, they execute him presently: This not serving the turn, they do not execute the man only, but all the house where he was found to be harboured: This not rooting them quite out neither, the King commands that both that house and the next two houses on both sides of it, should be all put to execution: The terrible dread hereof seizing upon all, there is not a man can escape the discovery, and the

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Sect is immediately extirpate. Could your hearts now endure to do this? or could your hands serve you? Lay that right-hand on your brests, weigh what I say; You must either come to this, if you see to the end, or you must come to an Accommodation.

And what are those things, I pray, you would have of them, or destroy them? It is not the Dignity of the Bishops, their Lordships and Revenues; it is not their Cathedrals, Organs, and their divine Service in what state and magnificence they please; it is not Common-Prayer in the ordinary daily use of it, no nor any Ceremony of the Church whatsoever, for all its significancy, if it be but a circumstance of

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Worſhip & no more, that could hinder moſt of the judicious and ſober *Non-conformiſts* to come over to you; But it is theſe Declarations, Subſcriptions, and Oaths which you impoſe upon them in your Acts, as for which I will ſhew you they are one of the worſt ways that could be deviſed to take or hold any. I will convince you. There is nothing under the Sun makes ſuch a bruit, and ſtir in the hearts of people as theſe Declarations and Oaths, when it is no leſs than the Conſcience of a Lie, before the face of God and men, in a caſe too of Confeſſion, and the fear of Perjury with it, that makes them leave their Livings and Miniſtry, rather than keep them

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on ſuch conditions: and yet when all is done, be they taken or be they not taken, it ſignifies nothing. I will make this appear, And that not only becauſe there is no hole whereout a man can creep that has taken a *former Oath*, but he can get out of the ſame, or find another like it, in any *new Oath* you put upon him: but becauſe there is nothing that is a mans duty, or unlawful, before he hath taken the Oath, but it remains as it was, after he hath taken it; and he will be obliged neither more nor leſs, (I ſpeak as to the thing, not degree) whether he take it, or not take it. Let a man be convinced in his conſcience that *Epiſcopacy* is Antichriſtian, and that it is much for the

the Glory of God, and his duty, to extirpate it root and branch; let him take a thousand Oaths, yet so long as he retains his Principles, and he accounts his Conscience stands bound by a former Obligation, the latter Obligation can hold him nothing. What is the Covenant to an Episcopal judgment that hath taken it? and what will be the late new Oath to a contrary judgement? What, but a few new Withes on *Sampson*'s hands, that break like Tow, when the Philistine comes upon him?

Again, there is another thing upon this, that is a *dreadful thing*, and that is, When a man hath loosned the reins of his Conscience a little too slack, in swallowing

lowing a forced Oath, there is nothing so like to imbitter his soul as this, against those that impose it: Like a Lion in a chain, which not only holds no longer than he can break it, but Wo be to them he meets next when it is broken.

A certain plain honest Neighbour of mine coming to Church constantly as others did, it came to his turn to be chosen Churchwarden; He goes to the Court along with others; when he comes there, they tender him the *Churchwardens Oath*; he knowing not well what to make of it, nor how to avoid it, takes it as the rest do: when he comes home, the Oath sticks in his stomack, and he can find no rest

until

until he leaves both his Churchwardenſhip, Church and all, and goes to the *Anabaptiſts*, and never ſince came there more. Do not think thoſe perſons that take this Oath, do love You or the Oath ever the better for it. I will appeal to the boſome of an honeſt-hearted perſon, who ſtands at as great an elongation from the thing *Hypocrite*, as the moſt of men alive I am perſwaded, whatſoever elſe he be, Whether his being caught into that Oath once, as he was, makes him love the Covenant, the Takers and Impoſers, the dearer ſince, yea or nay? I would to God there had never Oath, beſides the *Aſſertory Oath*, which is *for the end of all ſtrife*, been known amongſt men;

for

for this counter-ſwearing, the Covenant, and the new Oath, and the like, doth make ſuch debauchery-work amongſt honeſt minds, that we ſhall rue the time that ever they were born into the World.

It is not long ſince when many a worthy Gentleman of the Parliament have bitterly complained of the injury of that late Covenant and Engagements forced on them, who for their Conſcience-ſake would hazard their Eſtates rather than take them: And how ſhall theſe Conſciencious Perſons then, as Chriſtians, be content to have oppoſit Oaths and Subſcriptions new coined in our Acts, and imposed upon others? *Therefore*

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art thou inexcusable, O man, who doest the same things, which thou hast condemned. You may be easily sure to find *Daniel* a transgressour, if the Great Ones will contrive a Law on purpose; and that too in the matter of his *God*, when otherwise, there is nothing to be found but Innocency in him.

Do ye forget, O ye Right Reverend! how the Oath of *Et cætera* made more wrinkles in the brows of men, than is in that character it self? It cost *Philip de Valois* dear, that he made our *Edward* the Third swear him Fealty. Indeed an Oath in civil things that is taken with a good will, is of moment, but an Oath upon constraint we abhor. *Ruit*

humanum genus per vetitum. To command a thing wherein before we were left free, is enough to whet our humane nature unto opposition. To prohibit it, will make it coveted, and we can have no desires for that which is easie of access. If these few sheets which I write, do get, and may come with an *Imprimatur* out of the Press, they will hardly be read; but if they be seized upon as dangerous, they will be sought. If many of the ejected Ministers, who are flockt to now when they venture to preach, had liberty to say on, till they had wearied themselves and Auditors out, we should see how the rolling Snow-balls would melt, and, excepting a few of the

the eminent of them, their Congregations quickly would bee thinn enough. If any of our *Episcopal* men would be followed, let them get those loose. It is true, we are indeed mad already in Schism and Faction, but it is this Restraint, like the Fetters of *Bedlam*, makes us madder.

And alas Sirs! if there were only wilfulness in it, it were another matter. But it is mens Brains are infected; and *after that way you call Heresie, they worship the God of their Fathers*. Their Judgements, their Consciences and Hearts are convinced and engaged. I remember in *Sfettigrade*, a Town of *Epirus*, in *Scanderbegs* time, which was scituate strongly on a Rock,

and in which he placed much truſt; when the *Turks* came into his Country and beſieged it, a certain Villain who had compacted Treaſon, throws a dead Dogg into the Common-Well, which one was all the City had. The Souldiers came in the morning for Water, and finde the Carrion; upon this ſight there is not one of them will drink one drop: Their Captain comes and beſeeches them; He takes of the Water and drinks firſt himſelf; The Water is not a jot the worſe for it, but do all he could for all that, by threats and entreaties, nothing would ſerve, but meerly through a more than *Jewiſh* Superſtition, that it was polluted to *Chriſtians*, the Town

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muſt be delivered up and all loſt, rather than any of them can be got to do it. The remembrance of this Story makes me pitty the imagination of the *Sectary*, and reflect on my own ſpirit. I do verily hope in the Lord that there is nothing in theſe fears and dreadful aboadings of many good mens hearts, about the Diſcipline and Way of Worſhip in our Church, but a Conceit. The Lord knows I do not know, but this I am ſure, it is not theſe Laws and Penalties from without, have any tendency to the cure of them. Can you remember when you were Children, and had heard ſome tale of Sprights and Ghoſts overnight, and then waking about

twelve, how you have lain ſweating with your fears at ſomething you knew not what? There are as certainly ſuch impreſſions of dread and ſuperſtition on many mens conſciences, no leſs ſtrong, but more laſting and waking, that are as irreſiſtable and hard to be helpt. And you may as well exſpect the moſt fearfull Childe ſhould go and abide in the dark by it ſelf, as that ſuch ſhould do thoſe things that are enjoyned, until theſe imaginations get off. It is *Time* and *Liberty* and *Cuſtome* muſt prevail with theſe, as the *Candle* and *Day* and *growing to be Men*, will with the other.

It is the common opinion of our *Proteſtants*, that the Pope is Anti-

Antichrist and the Beast in the *Revelations*, whereof such terrible things are spoken. For my own part I know not that the Pope is that *Beast*, any more than I know the Pope himself; Yet when I see our Divines so ordinarily say and believe so, it hath begot in me such apprehensions, that I think I durst not take upon me the *profession* of Popery and the *practice*, which I must accordingly fancy to be the *mark* in the *forehead* and in the *right-hand*, in the Text, out of that fear only, if there were nothing to offend me in their Tenents else, that it is possible it may be so. There are many serious men living and dead, that have joyned *Prelacy* and *Popery* together

in the ſame rank, and if there be a dread upon the hearts of many that fear God in ſincerity, leſt this be Antichriſtian and the Beaſt, aſwell as that, and Conformity to each, the character of either, who can help ſuch ſick thoughts? and how ſhall Acts and Puniſhments do any thing here, when the rankling of the wound is within, and hid from any? Unleſs you could tender them ſomething more dreadful than that *fire and brimſtone in the preſence of the Lamb*, wherein that man and woman *ſhall be tormented for ever and ever, and have no reſt day nor night, who worſhip the Beaſt and his Image, and whoſoever receiveth the mark of his name*, you can do nothing at all this way.

way. Lo here what you are to do, if you go on thus.

I tell you, what perhaps you may have thought too mean for your notice; You will not by Violence under present circumstances, bring People to Uniformity. The great thing that keeps these *Phanaticks* from the Church and Common-Prayer, lies in such private odd impressions on their thick beliefs and dark minds. I tell it you, and it were well if none of the most serious and learned are not touched after a soberer fashion, with the same malady. Find out a way now to root out such principles, such fearful conceits, and superstitious jealousies of you; To meddle with their persons is but

to torment the body, not heal their conceptions. You must take another course than quite that you may do this. For what is that, which can make these men with any appearance of truth, think our Government Antichristian, unless it be the persecuting them by your Acts, which they lay all upon the *Prelate*, and look upon it as the spirit of *Antichrist*, and our Church as *Babylon*, opposing the Power of Religion? That you persecute is Faction, and the factious spirit; but they take that Spirit to be the Power and Life of Christianity. The natural way, it follows; to convince them to the contrary, is, a Cessation of these Acts (that when there is

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no Rage or Perſecuting, they may believe there is no Beaſt nor Antichriſt ;) a Conjunction with the *ſober* of them (that they may ſee you advance, and not hate true Piety;) And overcoming the reſt in their weakneſs, with *forbearance*, long-ſuffering and gentleneſs.

There are none ignorant of one piece of Advice that was given by an honorable Lawyer among the *Jews*, when the holy Apoſtles, thoſe Fiſhermen-Preachers diſturbed the world. *There was one* Theudus *roſe up and boaſted himſelf* (ſaith he) *and one* Judas, *and theſe came to nothing: wherefore I ſay unto you, Refrain from theſe men, and let them alone; for if this counſel or work be of*

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men,

men, it will come to nought, as others did: *but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest happily ye be found even to fight against God.*

I wish to the Lord, the great Ministers of our State would be content to be no wiser men than *Gamaliel*. If these Sects and Sectaries in their *union* against Prelacy, how contemptible soever in their *dispersion*, are indeed of God, or a Counsel of his, then shall not Prelacy stand before them: But if they be all nothing but the imaginations of divided mortals, without the power of Religion as their center, Then *refrain from these men, and let them alone*, (according to the advice of that time) and you shall see how much more easily they will

will break all to pieces of themselves, than by your keeping a stir with them.

Let me offer you one President to your conviction. When *Vespatian* and *Titus* came to the last Destruction of *Jerusalem*, there were three factions of the Seditious, called the *Zealous*; the one held the City, the other two divided the Temple. Or *è contra*, I stand not precisely on my memory. At the *Roman*-Army drawing up before the Walls, all these Factions agree unanimously, & withstood them with equal courage and bravery. The General hereupon takes this advice, He withdraws his Army from their Territories for a season, leaving them to themselves

ſelves purpoſely; They preſently upon his removal, fall together into their former Diſcords, till they had almoſt waſted and ruin'd one another; and then comes he with his Army back, and after a cruel Siege, takes the City. There are more than three Factions among us, who are zealouſly united againſt *Prelacy*; If you could find a way to divide them and break them, you muſt withdraw theſe Acts againſt them. It is your Laws combine their Intereſt, that otherwiſe was divided. A ſtrange piece of Policy, that propoſes ſafety to *Epiſcopacy* in the *union* of the Adverſary, and *Peace to the Nation* in their *higheſt Exaſperations*.

A little before Arch-Biſhop

Lauds

Lauds time, the *Puritans* had got a fashion of wearing their hair so short, as above their ears. They placed matter of Conscience in it, and there was few but were careful observers of it. It pleased God that Dr. *Laud* took a humour to approve short hair for the Ministry, which he requiring more than ordinary strictly as Canonical, This presently has a contrary effect on our zealous Brethren, who plead for their liberty by their practice, and none of late were seen to wear their hair more long than those who were for a *Gathered-People*. If I know any thing of the spirits of men, it is Rarity and Difficulty that whets the appetite, and it is Satiety and Liberty asswageth them.

them. And if ſome ſuch way as this, could itbe hit upon, did not prevail more toward *Uniformity*, than the flat ſeverity of direct Injunctions for it, I will ſhut up my Table-Books, and take no more reckoning of Experience.

It may be there are ſome pleaſe themſelves in the thought, that the new *Oxford* Oath hath divided the *Non-conformiſts*, ſeeing part of them do take it, and part do not. But what is the diviſion of men, into ſome taking the Oath, and ſome not taking it, any more than ſome of them *Presbyterians*, ſome *Anabaptiſts*, ſo long as they retain the ſame Heart and Principles as to their common Concern? While their *combined* Intereſt is all one, the dividing

dividing them in their *single* Interests, and little Angers, is but multiplying parties against you, and playing with their disturbance.

I know some Politicks may direct you, that when there is a growing Party or Faction under any State, to keep a severe hand over them for their suppression But this must be understood before those Parties be grown, and you be sure that they are the lesser number. If such Factions are considerable and equall, a neutral kind of unconcernment and indifferency, makes the chief Magistrate *strong*, while he keeps his interest in *all* of them; whereas an espousing of one, doth both bandy the others against it,

and

and makes his Horſes to be but their Horſes, and his Chariots their Chariots. It is not a few inconſiderable Miniſters onely, the engagement of whoſe ſouls are againſt theſe late Acts, but there are many worthy Gentlemen, and grave Citizens, and ſober Perſons, beſides the multitude of multitudes of ſuch that are mixt with the *Sectaries*. I wiſh heartily that our Sovereign Lord the King could but make one equal tryal of the general inclination: Suppoſe he ſhould give Commiſſion to the Sheriff of any County pitched upon indifferently, granting leave to the People promiſcuouſly to meet together, and give their Votes freely whether they would have

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an Indulgence and Liberty of Conſcience or no? Let us have but fair play for it, and if we do not carry it in the Hearts and Votes of the good Subject, we will neither *move the wing*, nor *open the mouth*, nor *peep* more in this buſineſs.

It hath pleaſed God at this ſeaſon to bring us into that condition, that an Agreement of all perſons, to the ſtrengthening of our hearts and our hands for his Majeſty, would be ſeaſonable. And were I asked, what means were moſt likely to do this? I do think verily there is nothing under the cope of Heaven comparable to ſuch a paſſing a really free and ingenuous Act of Grace for *Indulgence in matters of Religion;*

ligion; The King would ſee, and the Nation would feel another Spirit running in their Blood, and what a difference there is between a Man whoſe heart is cold at the thoughts, that when he hath fought for his King, and beaten his Enemies, he muſt come home (as it were) again to his bonds; and of his, whoſe ſpirit is fluſh with aſſurance that after Victory abroad, he ſhall return to the enjoyment of that thing that is dearer to him than his Life, *the Liberty of his Conſcience.*

And what! Is there never a drop of *Engliſh Blood* think ye in the Veins of the *Sectary*? How ſhall that thing you call *Obſtinacy* and *Faction*, when they ſuffer

ſuffer the violence of your Laws and are unmoved, appear to be the moſt undaunted Courage of the Engliſh Spirit, when it ſhall ſhew it ſelf in the Field? Are there no ſober men amongſt all the *Malecontents*, whoſe Advice, Aſſiſtance and Prayers would do you no harm, to take them with you? It was not the *Cauſe*, but the *Party*, and this thing, *Liberty of Conſcience*, that got the better of the King in our late Inſurrections. It was *Liberty of Conſcience* got into the Houſe, and pulled down the *Biſhops*; that went with the Parliaments Army and won all. It was *Liberty of Conſcience* came back and pull'd up the *Parliament*, and then ſate down and reign'd with *Cromwel*.

It

It is this piece of ſingle policy, the raiſing up ſuch a Principle in baſe and mean fellows, to mate the Bravery and Spirit of the Gentry, ſhal eternalize that mortal. It was *Liberty of Conſcience*, when our Religion was at ſtake in thoſe Confuſions, that tack'd about and reſtored the King. And if his Majeſty will hearken to the counſel of a mean perſon, let him keep this wild thing, *Liberty of Conſcience*, on his ſide. This *Liberty of Conſcience*, let me ſay again, is that mad Earle of *Warwick* in the time of *Edward* the fourth and *Henry* the ſixth, call'd *Make-King*, that the gain or loſs of him on either ſide, was the gain or loſs of the Kingdom with him.

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It may be there is ſome great Prelate or eminent Stateſman at the Helm are too hard for your proper inclinations, which ſteer and byas them unſeen, into other Counſels: I will therefore humbly argue with them. Behold I will be to them in your ſtead; *I am framed alſo out of the Clay; Let me not, I pray you, accept any mans perſon, neither let me give flattering Titles unto Man: for I know not to give flattering Titles, in ſo doing my Maker might ſoon take me away.* Ye have ſaid, We are the men, we have found out Wiſdom. I will reprove them. *Great Men are not always wiſe.*

Was it, in the firſt place, conſulted wiſely, when we reſtored

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Episcopacy in this Nation, to receive a company of men as low in their Interests as in their Condition, unto such vast Emoluments which never were, and are never like to be again, being the fruits of twenty years together in one, unto which (excepting a very few of them) they had no relation in the Earth to challenge the least penny before actual possession? How well might such persons have been contented to have entered the present Revenues and Honours, and left the Arrears for Publick Accounts, or Good works? This possibly was not wise (Sirs), not only for the Improvidence, but for that Envy and just kind of Disdain, that so excessive Riches

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(thrown upon men ſo undeſervedly) hath raiſed in the ſtomacks of others (to the Function it ſelf for the Covetouſneſs of the Perſons) eſpecially of thoſe whoſe high merits for the King and his Cauſe did require ſome other gratification, than a languiſhing looking-on, and repining at their fortunes.

Was it, in the next place, wiſely conſulted (wherein yet, above all, you would ſeem moſt wiſe) in making ſuch a ſtir with the Covenant, as hath been done in our late Impoſitions? It was the Wiſdom of the Antient Church, inſtead of contention about the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies, to take a ſpecial care that they might have an *honourable Burial*, and there-

by have they bin all husht without trouble for many Ages. Methinks, if the wisdom of these great and wise men, were not wiser than the ancient Wisdom, they might, at least for his Majesties sake, have dealt accordingly with the Covenant. They might have laid it in a state of silence, without light and without words, evermore to be forgotten, and never would it have done them further hurt. But now they have raised it twice or thrice up (in a former Subscription & the late Oath) as a dreadful Ghost out of its Grave, to do what Mischief, or raise what Troubles for the future I cannot tell, but to little end at present for ought I see, only to terrifie

mens

mens Consciences, and keep alive the memory of it, which were fitter to die, & be thought on no more.

Once more: There was a time when these wise and great men might have compounded for *Episcopacy* with the pious and learned of her Adversaries, upon as high advantage and a sure foundation, for themselves and the peace of the Nation, as could be well wished or desired in any reason; But they outstood their market, & slipt the opportunity.

They have slipt it, yet we may redeem one lock of it; to wit, It is better the Parliament compounded them, than that a Forreign Enemy, or the Papists should do it. We know when it

was, our *Ridley* and *Hooper* were agreed. I draw up this: If the greateſt *Seers* may fail in their Politicks and erre in Viſion, in ſome things, when there is no man doubts of their integrity otherwiſe than of their ability, why may they not poſſibly have been out here, in their adviſing to theſe Acts about Religion?

Come then, and let us ſet the Sun and Wind to ſtrive again for maſtery. You ſee what the cold boyſterous blaſts of theſe late Acts have done on the Travellour, that they have made the moſt but hold their Cloaks the faſter about them. Now let us have ſome gentle rayes and warm beams from his gracious Majeſty and his loving Parliament,

ment, in an Act of Indulgence and Concord that shal please his People, and you shall see them all, not only to throw down their Cloaks and Estates, but their Hearts and Lives at his feet, saying with *Amasa* in holy Story, *Thine are we, O David, and on thy side, thou Son of Jesse; Peace, peace be unto him, and peace to those that help him.*

I will here turn, and look back on the way I have come. You have my Motion and my Arguments under the three first *heads* mainly, at first named; I must explain my self a little upon the Motion, and offer the other. *Nam quod facimus, id nisi utile sit, stulta omnis atque inanis inde est gloria.*

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To eke out then this Proposition, I will take *breath*, and not be *afraid to shew you also my Opinion*. There are the learned and sober Godly amongst us, which are to be compounded with as your Brethren: And there are the Zealous and Giddy in lesser Fractions, which are to be born withal in mercy, and won over with patience and gentleness.

For the former. There was a Declaration of his Majesties about these Ecclesiastical Affairs before *black Bartholomew*, wherein a Composition is drawn up to our hands, well and wisely: and there are Laws in our Statute-Books against *Pluralities*. If that Declaration were passed into a Law,

Law, with as little canvasing and alteration as may be, though with no less than is necessary to calm the withholding party, we need no more to do our business. And if those Statutes were refresht into a new Act, that no Mortal breathing should hold more than one Living and one Dignity; that is, one Cure of Souls (upon which also he should ordinarily be resident) with one Canonship, Prebend, or the like, which is a *fine-Cure* (as a reward of special merit or favour): then should you not onely do God right, and render the *Hire* to the *Labourer*, which cryes for justice, but you would make an Act of Grace or Accommodation significant, while you put the means

into his Majesties hands to gratifie his *Restored*, and make him bountiful with their leavings. I know who will be ready to *stamp* here, and fling dirt in the Air. This is a kind of Clergy-Treason. But it is no matter, I will leave it upon Record for his Majesties service, that if there be occasion or exigence for it, what is prepared may be used.

For the latter, Let us suppose a Liberty granted to these persons for their Assemblings according to their Consciences, provided by Law, that for security to the State, and upon account of that Rule, *Not a Novice*, (which modesty should teach those who are without learning, to hold themselves to be

be ſo much longer than others) *leſt being lifted up with pride, he fall into the condemnation of the Devil*, they do not permit any to be their Paſtors, or to ſpeak in their Churches, but ſuch as are of gravity and years as is fitting; and that, leſt they ſhould meddle about State-matters, their Meeting-places (as they would have them) ſhould be open for any that will to hear them, and implead them if guilty; I humbly conceive, without any policy more, that when the preſent Zeal of this Generation had beat it ſelf out a little ſeaſon, and there be none of the heat of the Young man, to keep alive the *ſtrange fire*, which ſpeaking againſt Government uſually en-

kindles: Before these men that are so hot upon it unto four or five and twenty, shall come to have forty years hairs upon their beards (or thirty five, if they will be content at least but to stay so long) they will get (it is likely) that discretion to see how contemptible is their stuff in comparison of the grave studied Minister; and being cold moreover to applauses by that time, They will be so ashamed & flat to such an insolence, that as soon as ever a few of those that are now living shall give up their Churches and Ghosts together, there shall not hardly in a little time be any found more to succeed them.

I heard, to strengthen this, it fared so with one of their Churches

ches of great resort in *London*, that was a fierce Revelationmans, ——who being taken away by the Mortality, they having not his Peer left to take his Bishoprick, dissolved immediately, and their place knew them no more. Had that person, as he was often sought, chanced to have been taken, and put up in *Newgate*, it is like they would have been provided of a *Substitute*. It is not therefore your haling these men and women to Goal that will disperse them; for when you have them in Prison, they will Conventicle there, and the rest be at the next Meeting: but if you *refrain from these men*, and *let them alone*, (as that grave Gentleman

tleman before in Scripture advised) till a few of the more ſtanch and conſiderable do die, they will come to diſſolution of their own accord.

One thing yet I will tell you further, which *you* perhaps think not of. Suppoſe this Freedom in the Worſhip and Service of God according to mens inclinations: Thoſe that are for the *Congregational way* ſhal draw the moſt conſiderate and moderate from the *Sectary*; and thoſe that are the *Presbyterian Preachers* ſhall drain the *Gathered Congregations*; And then the moſt eminent and judicious of the *Presbyterian* coming over to the *Liturgy* upon a little condeſcention to them in a few of their

moſt

moſt material exceptions, This thing, *Liberty of Prophecy*, which you ſo mortally dread, as the enemy of Conformity, ſhall happily become one of the moſt politick, apt, and kindlieſt means, that can be thought upon at this ſeaſon to bring up the people to it.

There is a block after this, which I foreſee will be laid in the way, and pretended to enervate this diſcourſe. It cannot ſtand with ingenuity for any that plead in general for Indulgence in regard of their own Conſciences, to put in any barr againſt others that are conſciencious; and conſequently the door hereby will be opened for the *Papiſt* to under-ſet and over-run the

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Proteſtant Religion. But this is a Cloud that need not be feared by a Wind that blows ſo oppoſite to it. For beſides that the Act moved for, is an Act for Concord and Indulgence in the Reformed Cauſe, and this *Liberty of Conſcience* muſt neceſſarily include that of the *Magiſtrate*, aſwel as the *Subject*, which cannot allow of Idolatry, or any thing of that nature by Publick Sanction, when it may condeſcend much in matters of indifferency: The thing we know is to paſs the debate and deliberation of both Houſes, who will provide well enough beyond doubt in that matter. Neither am I much moved if you ſay, that the Arguments I uſe for the

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Non-conformists may be applied to the *Papists*; for though some of them indeed may, many of them may not, nor the main heads of them. These are not like to be reduced this way. The *Interest of State* consists not with the *Jesuite*, as the King's *Supremacy* does not with the *Pope*. Otherwise, were there no more danger to mens Souls and Lives in *prevailing Popery* than in *Presbytery* or the *Sectary*, I am not the man that could find in my heart to persecute any harmless peaceable person, for doing his Devotions another way than I do.

I know there will be this, and twenty things perhaps more said to traduce and choak this Motion:

tion : But I oppoſe the ſame buckler, to wit, The Motion as it was at firſt ſtated, and the Debate of Parliament. There is no Act of Grace can paſs the two Houſes, but it will prevent the Inconveniences, and anſwer for it ſelf againſt Exceptions. A legall ſtated Toleration will not undermine, but uphold Religion; and be no friend, either of Superſtition or Confuſion.

To return from this purſuit. It hath been I ſee the policy of late tranſactions, to endeavour to root out thoſe *Principles* from mens minds whereby they have maintained the lawfulneſs of former Sedition and Rebellion, and hereupon hath the renunciation of the Covenant been ſo preſſed

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in our Oaths and Subſcriptions: But if the Policy of thoſe firſt Wheels that move others, had bin rather to root out the *Cauſes* from us, which make men willing to entertain ſuch Principles, I do humbly ſuppoſe that Policy to have been the deeper. The way to eſtabliſh the Kings *Throne* in the *hearts* of his People, and to do it for ever, is this; to make it appear that all that Good (to wit, *ſubſtantial Good*) which they ever expected (or can expect) from a *Change of the Government*, or a Commonwealth, may be had from Him (or from a Prince) in the Acts of his Parliament. Whatſoever things then have lain upon the hearts of the Commons to make them *endea-*

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vour our *changes* of late, in hopes *thereof*, and do ſecretly yet lie there to make them *wiſh* for the like, upon the conceit that they may poſſibly have ſuch things thereby, as the preſent Intereſt of thoſe that ſhould yeeld to them, in the ſtanding ſtate, renders ſo unlikely, as is near to a not-ſeazable without the ſame: Theſe are things, I take it, to be ſought out by our ſageſt Miniſters of State, as matter, or work for Parliament-conſultation.

There are certain things of this nature (as to me they ſeem) I will leave upon record; at which, as I know that many are apteſt to except, (But why? only becauſe they are too great, too publickly good, too difficult for the attempt:)

tempt:) my own conſcience hath the moſt deliberate content above any thing I have beſides. I have reduced them to theſe: An Enfranchiſment of Servile Tenures, as the King hath dealt with Wardſhips. A Commutation of Tithes(ſuppoſe by a Law enjoyning every man to buy out his own, and the money be laid out in Glebe.) A Regiſter of Eſtates. A Tenderneſs towards mens Conſciences in matters of Religion. That man of publick ſpirit who could wiſely motion theſe four things, and be able,upon righteous conſiderations,to carry them through both Houſes (if it were to get but ſomething towards in the firſt and laſt of them, as the aboliſh-

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ing of Herriots in the one, and ſome moderate Explanation of former Acts, in the other) ſhould be valued by me, in all true Honour, above *Hercules*, and might have his Pillars ſet up to him for ſuch a task, as an *Hero* of his Country, that had gone ſo far (if he could bring them to full accompliſhment) as none ſhall exceed him, in the ſeeking the moſt excellent Eſtabliſhment, and durable Good of his Nation.

Where there are no hopes from Inovation, no body wil go about to make it. But when a People have all can be had, all that can come to a Settlement with Judgment and Righteouſneſs by the preſent Governement already, then will there be no hopes from

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Inovation. *Ergo,* When those things are taken into consideration by the Parliament (or Parliaments) and after mature debate and consultation, come to be concluded upon ingenuously and sincerely, *wisely* and *righteously,* which have been on the hearts, and in the design of the more publick-spirited in these late times *rudely* and *wildly:* then shall our Government of *Monarchy* in this Land (leaving the persons of our successive Sovereigns unto Providence & their chances) be out of danger for future Generations.

I descend to what remains, that is the last head unto which I reduced my Arguments.

Hitherto then I have spoken

to

to you as Men, I will ſpeak to you now as Chriſtians and Believers of the World to come; and if I differ ſomething in my ſtile upon that account, I hope you will bear with it. O you Governours and Rulers, let me addreſs you as fellow-mortal-men, who muſt appear before the great Tribunal one day to give an account of your Stewardſhips unto *Jeſus Chriſt* your Prince and Lord, as my ſelf muſt, who am not able ever to ſtand there but by infinite exceeding mercy in the bloud of the Lamb, who was ſlain for the remiſſion of our ſins. I know not any kinder office can be done you than this, in all humility to adviſe you to let none prevent you, but be

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your ſelves the Authors of that Grace and Benignity which is ſo abſolutely neceſſary to the Nation.

It will make the Dignity of your high Places, and the face of your lives paſt look more chearfull to you, when Death ſhall bring his Leaden Mace to exchange with your Golden-Titles, if you ſhal have the Teſtimony of your Conſciences, that you have been content to deny your ſelves in this thing, and diſpleaſe ſome men for the ſake of our Lord, who was ſo merciſull and good to every body, that he exerciſed Indulgence all his life long, and then died that he might obtain more, for you, and me, and ſuch as could not

receive

receive any of him while he was here.

There is a Perſon I hope you would do a kindneſs for with all your heart, and you have reaſon, it is for your *dear Lord* that bought you, and there is nothing in the World you can do I am perſwaded that he will take ſo kindly from you at this time, as to be pittifull to his Servants, who are diſtreſſed about your Acts in point of Conſcience; and who the more diſpiſed they are and like unto their Lord, the fitter ſubjects they are for your Compaſſion. Neither will it hurt you in another piece of tenderneſs towards the People, to prevent Inſurrection, and fortifie againſt Invaſion; ſecuring hereby

hereby both the *Bad* from punishment, and the *Good* from danger.

It were better certainly for any one man's own part, that there never had been Bishops, than that he should be one condemned hereafter for taking that course in establishing of them, as thereby to have sinned without repentance, against the souls of many whom *Jesus Christ* is not ashamed to call his Brethren, and so against Him, who shall be our Judge, and will take whatsoever we do unto them, as if we did it unto Himself. If you had no need of Mercy from God, it were tolerable then for you to be extream towards others. But if you are ready to

indulge your ſelves too often in many things that are not allowed by him, when permitted by you: methinks the way to engage the Lord unto pardon, ſhould be in bearing with them in theſe things which are diſallowed only by you, and permitted by him. If you forgive not your Brethren their treſpaſſes, neither will your heavenly Father forgive you your treſpaſſes. *He ſhall have judgement without mercy, that hath ſhewed no mercy.*

Do you know that many of theſe things which are impoſed, are really againſt mens Conſciences, and would you indeed have any ſuch *to do* them though they be ſo? Do you conſider this, and what it is? If it be

better

better to be drown'd in the Sea with a Milſtone, than to offend *one* of God's little ones, what is it to offend *multitudes*, that is, ſo offend them as to inforce them to ſin againſt their Conſciences, which is to wound them and to ruine them? Why Sirs! if one of theſe men on the ſudden, to avoid the penalty, ſhall do what is enjoyned unſatisfiedly, his ſoul when he reflects on it is ſmitten, and he can hardly again ever recover it perhaps all his life. I profeſs to you it is better in this caſe really you had taken a Poniard and ſtabb'd him to the heart, it had been leſs pain, and the ſtroke of leſſe deadly conſequence to him. *If you ſin againſt the Brethren, and wound their weak*

Consciences, you sin against Christ. Do you believe the Gospel, or that there is such a thing as sin? what then is stealing, and drinking, and lying with women, if such damnable untenderness as this is, be nothing? Is it a sin to kill a man, and no sin to damn him everlastingly? On my conscience, you would be grieved all your life if *you* had murdered any man; and shall you really be the occasion of murdering the souls of many, and not once consider *what have we done?* I hope and am perswaded that many of these things at which some good men are stumbled, are nothing; *yet to him that esteemeth any thing to be unclean, it is unclean.* And what if upon a mans yeelding to one

one thing that is against his conscience, being put upon distress, he shall make shipwrack of his present Faith, & departing from it now, never be regardful of it more, & so become irrefragably damn'd? Is there no pitty and turning of your bowels at the thought to have such a one crying out eternally upon you, that if it had not been for your Acts, he had never come into that place of torments?

Give me leave then, for anticipation of this cry and guilt, in the behalf of many, of thousands, of many thousands of innocent people, men and women in the Land, to beg *Quarter* of you for their Consciences. They are *not* able to *yeeld* to the things

you impose upon them. *Though they be lawfull or indifferent in themselves, yet so long as they are against their consciences, He that eateth and doubteth, is damned if he eat. O do not force their souls upon damnation.* You may be perhaps of a strong Minde and hardy Conscience, and others weakness and fear of Sin may be but a *Romance* to you. We might instance in some, who little thought at the Kings Return, of their after-experience, that they should fall down slain at Conformity, who might expect some other fruit from thence, & were not able to reap it. I profess to you, the most, I believe, are not capable indeed to judge in this matter. You have not been wounded

wounded *or* lain under those terrors, to know what Tenderness in this kind is; yet have *you* sinned against the Lord Almighty, as well as others, and have need of his indulgence.

It was the determination of *Mirandula*, that no man can make himself believe what he will. It is not consequently the severity of Laws that can do any thing with the Mind, though it may with the Outward-man. Force may make men Hypocrites, not Converts to a Faith which is enjoyned. Neither is the penalty indeed of your Acts, as it relates to the Minister who conforms not to them (which lies mainly in the deprivation of their Ministry and their serviceableness to God

in their place) ſuch, as is fit to have been promoted on ſome of them, or like to have effect on others.

I know not how well thoſe may like of themſelves in their *Sacerdotal Function*, who can be a Biſhop here, and a Dignitary there; a Dean in one Church, a Canon in another, a Prebendary in a third; the Rector of ſuch a Pariſh, and Parſon of ſuch; who can ſhovel-up their Preferments together in heaps, as if the Cure of Souls were indeed nothing elſe but the Care of Money, or the raiſing of their Families: But as for thoſe men that expect none of theſe things, but are intent on their work, their buſineſs & account, which makes them

them groan under the weight, I cannot conceive any temptation ſo ſhrewdly grateful to *fleſh and blood*, as what you have been offering them by your Acts. And will you indeed conſpire with Satan, and with the fleſh of ſinful men, to rob the people, who are innocent and have not offended, of that ſerious, faithful, painful Preaching of many of theſe Men, for want of which you know not how many of their ſouls may periſh, and how much ſin may abound, the guilt whereof may be laid to your charge; and in the mean while only pleaſure theſe whom ye account the Offenders themſelvs ſo extream highly, as to ſet them at perfect eaſe; free them from their care

and ſtudy, and give them the moſt voluptuous enjoyment of perpetual leaſure? A very little whereof, without *your* Acts, their buſie Conſciences would perhaps let them have.

They may thank you. But I will tell you a better courſe to puniſh a good Preacher for his Nonconformity than to pleaſure the fleſh, & diſcharge him for it. Onely I muſt plead with you a little from the Argument I am upon (that is, *Conſcience*) in the way. Have there not been ſome, nay many of thoſe Miniſters, whom you have ejected by your Acts, ſerious Perſons, faithfull Labourers, and worthy of the Vineyard? And why have you impoſed ſuch conditions to the en-

entrance, or continuance of their Ministry, as they cannot yeeld unto without going against their Consciences? Can you say that in these conditions you have really condescended to them as far as possibly you could without sinning against yours? And that you have done moreover all that you are able for their Restitution? Why then is your *Peace* with these men laid upon the *approbation* and *use* of those things which in their nature are *disputable* and unnecessary? The Church is a company of persons professing the belief and practise of those things which *Christ* hath appointed to Salvation, & when no more can indeed be required unto union, than a joyning in the

owning

owning and practising all things that are such, why is there any thing that is not necessary to Eternal life made the condition to a man (after trial of his sufficiency and allowance by Orders) of performing his Ministry, any more than of his Communion with the Congregation?

Let a man then, once ordained, any way, be still held, and retained for a Labourer in the Harvest. Let not the Master be offended who hath imployed him, nor his Talent be wrapped up: But let him be made a *Gibeonite* to the sons of the Church, that they may use him as an Assistant for their burden, while Institution and Induction is conferred only according to Law.

Here

Here is your course for their punishment, if indeed they deserve any, for being true only to their Consciences, who do hope rather for Grace and Favour from You in the Act we seek. And this will satisfie the *sincere Nonconformist* on the one hand, who will obtain hereby his main end, *the glorifying God in his Calling*: and on the other, this is the best way to fetch in others, who certainly will grow weary at the long-run, when they shall have *Work* provided them as Ministers, but no *Benefice* until they conform.

When the *Persians* had made a Bridge over the *Hellespont*, and the *Grecian* Commanders were consulting to break it down, it

was

was *Themeſtocles*'s advice, by all means to let it ſtand; which when he perceived they were not like to entertain, he ſends privately word to the Enemy, what they were conſulting to do: They fearing thereupon leſt they ſhould be prevented, march back ſuddenly in thoſe numbers which (if they had not had the means of returning) muſt have ſwallowed up the whole Country. The Counſel of this *Athenian* ſhall be a Preſident to me in what I have been offering at this ſeaſon. There was a Bridge at his Majeſties return, in a treaty between the Biſhops and their fellow-endeavourers of his happie Reſtauration, that was on building; a Bridge, not for any

to

to depart Enemies from You, but for those who are Brethren (of the same Religion, differing only in some circumstances) to come over into Union and Concord with You. I know not by whose advice it was broken down; It may be, really, not by his Majesties any more than by mine, who do study thus (if possible) to set it atoot, and would be content to have it rebuilt any way, rather than not at all. Let me hear that gracious word, *Thus saith* Cyrus, *Arise and Build*; and when 'tis builded I would have that Motto on it, as my Lo. *Bacon* hath on his House (now the worthy Master of the Roll's) of *Goram*, being a modest but fair structure, In the front

of

of it there is this written, *Mediocria firma.*

If the Bishops will not, yet may they at least hear a little of his Majesties, or the Nation's mind about it; That they may write down in the Book of what hereafter shall befall them, *Moniti meliora.*

There are, I perceive, many fears and hopes upon the minds of people, and the presages of their hearts are many. I do not know whether there be any *dark Notices* from some Spirits that preside over us, of some great Events sometimes when they are near us: But methinks the minds of some have of late aboded us some very great Evil, or great Good, not to be far from us.

For

For my own part as I am a Christian, and born under the constitution of this State, I must profess and declare, that it is unlawful for any to expect Deliverance (I speak it as to the Oppressed in the chiefest of their possessions, their Consciences) from any hands whatsoever, but his only, in whose are the heart of the King to turn it as the Rivers of Water. The Supream Authority lies in that Breast, howsoever it be turned, and if we go any way that is not in order to the attaining the stamp of his Will, *a le Roy le Veult*, we go out of the way of our Constitution, and consequently against the Ordinance of God in our Nation. *Let every soul be subject*

to

to the higher Powers; for there is no Power but of God; and the Powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation. But now, if it shall please Almighty God to touch that Heart he hath in his hands, the Heart of his *Sacred Majesty*, our Lord and King, with the prevalent sentiments of Clemency and Mercy, of Nobleness and Pitty, of Righteousness and Peace, so as he shall come to see, that this narrow uncatholick spirit, that would have the minds of all persons, of every sect and condition, to be of the size of theirs only, is unbeseeming his Royal

Grace

Grace and Influence, who is not the Father only of the Circumcised, but of the Uncircumcised also: Then shall the Salvation of God come out of *Zion*, and the Captivity of his People be turned back. Then may those blessed Seeds that were sown in his Majesties wise and gracious *Declaration* so long since, revive, take root, and spring up. Then may the *Ejected Ministers*, and other Civil Officers worthy of trust, that, like the *Witnesses* in the *Revelation*, have lain dead for these late years in their Civil Death, have a Resurrection and a Call of that *Voice from Heaven*, which can be no other than that of the Supream Magistrate, saying, *Come up hither*.

Pardon

Pardon the Alluſion, which ſeeing others are, or have been too apt to make uſe of, to the entertaining ſuch hopes and thoughts that are *perhaps* of dangerous conſequence, I would direct unto a Hope that is lawful, if at all there be any: while ſo many diſtreſſed Conſciences lie bleeding, and know not whither they are to have recourſe for ſuccour. May it therefore pleaſe his moſt excellent Majeſty, with the Lords and Gentlemen of both Houſes, to take this Motion at their Seſſion into conſideration, that the matter being firſt duely weighed, debated, digeſted, for the agreement of things that ſeem to differ, the difficulties may be cleared, inconveni-

ences

ences prevented, none displeased: and so the *Proposer* may have pardon, and the *Proposition* a *soit fait comme il e desirè.*

Give Indulgence (stated consultedly) and you remove Discontent. You put an end for ever to Sedition and Rebellion; You root out the seeds and foment of them; You take away the very pretence. You prevent the Evil, you encourage the Well-meaning and Good. You will establish the Church. Do all good, No hurt. You will win our hearts; You will unite us at home; and for our Enemies abroad, if they dare, let them come. *Ecce quam bonum & amænum est, habitare Fratres etiàm unà.*

When

VVhen *Popilius* came from *Rome* to *Antiochus*, he declares his meſſage, that the Senate required of him to withdraw his Armies from *Egypt*, for *Ptolomy* was their Friend and Confederate. The King anſwers, he will take reſpite and conſider of it. *Popilius* with the end of his Rod draws a Circle round about him upon the ground, *Before you paſs this Circle* (ſayes he) *reſolve, that I may declare you Friend or Enemy to the* Romans. *Antiochus*, whether daunted at their known Power, or affected with the Bravery; or whether (as is not unlikely) out of the *Native goodneſs* that accompanies Princes, which makes them receive ſuch unexpected Actions with grace, can-

candour and generosity, he seeing indeed it was best for him; answered immediatly, *He would do as the Romans would have him.*

Great Sirs! I am come to You this day from an Authority *more* mighty than the Senate of *Rome*, in the Name of the Lord of Hosts, the God of *Israel*. There are a People you prosecute in your Acts, that make conscience of their wayes, and live peaceably. Withdraw this Hostility of yours; for they serve God, and are his Confederates, as well as you, or others; and he will bless those that bless such, and be an Enemy to their Enemies. Thus saith the Lord, *Be merciful as your Father in heaven is merciful.* Before you pass over these few

few Lines that are left, Resolve, whether you will be like him, or like him not? Resolve, that I may declare you to be his Sons; and him no Enemy, but a Friend, to our Sovereign, and to his People. *And it came to pass as he was speaking, Amaziah said unto him, Art thou made of the Kings Counsel? Forbear, why shouldest thou be smitten? Then the Prophet forbare.*

Deo gloria, mihi condonatio,
J. H.
June the 18th. 1667.

FINIS.

READER,

I Perceive the Person to whom I gave my Copy does desire a new Impression, and hath sent me a Book, entituled, *The Inconveniencies of Toleration*. I have read the Book twice or thrice, and have heard a pretty while by some or other, that there was an *Answer* upon the anvil framing against me, wherein I might expect the weight and strength of the Adversary. I cannot therefore tell how yet to believe that this is the Book

ſpoken of. If I were ſure it was, I ſhould have a greater temptation to ſay more to it than I have. I muſt confeſs I expected ſomething more formidable. And I muſt acknowledge my ſelf more *in good earneſt* for that I write, which is for *Moderation* and *Peace*, than that I ſhould *trifle* with this perſon (whatſoever he does with me) in what I have to ſay.

There are but few things, I apprehend, in the Book, that require any other Reply, than that I have read it, and the Printer goes on.

In general, firſt, there are Inconveniences he tells us (as the main *Theme* of his Diſcourſe) which a Toleration he thinks is liable

liable unto. And we are beholden to him I count for this, if he shal tell us as many of them as he can, that the Accommodation which we seek, may be ordered with so much the more prudence, to avoid all the Inconveniencies, as may be possible, while the Conveniencies and even necessity of *Moderation*, be nevertheless predominantly apprehended and sought.

In the next place, there are certain Concessions of mine to the Bishops, which he harps upon, concluding from thence, that the Non-conformist accounts their *Impositions all lawful*, and the *Law innocent*, and yet they are *obstinate*. But this Gentleman takes his strides too large a

great deal. There is a difference between the lawfulness of an *Imposition*, and the *Submission*; And of a Submission to what I *have* conceded, and to what is *not* conceded. A Ceremony which is *no* more than a Circumstance of Worship, may not offend me; for all it is made significative: But a Ceremony, Rite or Institution which is *more* than a Circumstance of Worship, to be brought into God's Service by men, and made *significative*, is offensive to most others, whether it be to me or no; and therfore is there no integrity in what this Gentleman argues thereupon. And as for the *Declaration* required of the Non-conformists, to be subscribed or

 sworn,

ſworn, I hope this perſon does think there is ſome *other* account than what he alone doth ſuggeſt as his preſent conceptions, to be given by the *concerned*, why *they* ſtick more with them, than the ordinary daily Service onely of the Common-Prayer. If this were ſafe and prudent, and did not require a whol Book for it, it were perhaps even in readineſs to be done.

Another thing that calls for my notice is this: This *Antagoniſt* apprehends me a man againſt impoſing all Penalties in matter of Religion. Suppoſe now this were indeed one thing, not *polimically*, but *deliberatively*, driven at in my Book: What hath he for confutation of it? *It will lay*

us open, he ſayes, *to all Hereſies; and the Church of Pergamus is commanded not to tolerate Error.* I muſt crave the candour here of the Reader, as one that ſpeaks upon the ſuppoſition. Matters of Religion may be conſidered barely as an act of Conſcience, or as they have influence on the manners of men, which come to concern the State. In the *latter regard*, the exerciſe of Religion, or the matters thereof are, I count, ſubject to the Laws civil, to wit, they are to be ordered ſo as they may not make diſturbance in the State, or hinder the Political Good: In the *former regard* (if they do not do ſo) Conſcience, I muſt confeſs, is ſuch a kind of Sacred thing with me,

as

as I am tender to have it touch't: And therefore I would distinguish. There is a *Toleration* in the *Church*, or in the *State* and the World. That matter of Religion and bare Conscience, as Errors and Heresie, are objects of *Ecclesiastical Coercion*, there is no question, and that they are *not* to be *tolerated* in the Church, this instance mentioned of *Pergamus* is undubitable: but when a person for his Error or Heresie is excommunicated from the Church, and so turned into the World, whether he is not to be *tolerated there* (which is his place) let those who will, give judgement. *Yet not altogether with the Fornicators of this world, or Idolaters, for then must you needs go*

out of the world. The Word of God is given to be a Rule to the Conscience; and if *Conscience* erre, it is to be reproved by its Rule. Consequently whatsoever Censures are *spiritual*, and bring the authority and force only of the *Word* with them, they are proper to be inflicted on men for their Consciences, because the application of the *Word* (and this is one, and the most powerfull way of application thereof, to wit, by censure) is the direct and only means, for its cure. But for the applying of Punishments *temporal*, which in their natures are *such*, as have no tendency of operation on the Conscience, they cannot be inflicted here, unless upon extrinsecal considerations,

rations, such as the Quiet of the State only, or the like, is.

Indeed I know that the good Kings in Scripture are commended for their Zeal in destroying Idolatry, and cutting off Idolaters. But this we may apprehend to arise from the *Judicial Laws* of that Nation. The Jews, we know, when *Moses* gave their Laws, were under a *Theocracy*; God Almighty was their Soveraign Lord and King, whose Presence & Protection accordingly was even visibly amongst them. That *Blasphemy* therefore, *Idolatry*, or the like Crimes, *as such*, were capital, there was clear Political Reason, because they were no less than *plain* Treason against their proper King. But as for

other Nations, where the Church and Common-wealth are divided, and the Interest of God and the King not the same, we may have reason to conceive the case here not alike, & the Laws to be different upon the same account. Suppose us in *Constantine*'s time, were it like a Christian and wise Prince, to have published an Edict for the destroying of all Idolaters if they would not turn Christians, as his predecessours did towards the *Christians*, if they would not turn Idolaters? Suppose us in *Theodosius*'s time; Had it been wise and Christian like in him to have followed the advice of those who were altogether for rooting out, and persecuting the *Arrians*,

ans, or did he do better, and more profitably, and so more like a Christian, in prevailing over them by Toleration? *A Prince who would draw his Subjects, divided into Sects and Factions, to his Religion, should not in my opinion use force*, sayes *Bodin* from this example. *De Rep. l.4. c.7.*

Another thing I am willing to speak something to, is this; I am supposing that the way to secure our Government against Inovation, is the removal of Grievances, and to endeavour that all those things which are truly good for the People, may be considered in Parliament, that it may appear there is no need of a *change* to procure these

for

for them. He answers, I am no Statesman, and *so long as there is the ambitious and revengeful*, and the like, *there will be the desire of a Change*. But really, this is prejudice, and these are exceptions onely of a once-thinking-man, who considers not the weight of the things he contemns. That which he objects to me is prevented in the sence and comport of that parenthesis, which he tels us, as he goes along, he does not understand, and yet doth he proceed on to be my *Censour*. Who doth not know, that the individual persons of all Governours must be liable to the common passions, animosities, injuries, iniquity, calamity, and accidents of mankind? But as for the

the Government it ſelf of *Monarchy* now eſtabliſhed in oppoſition to a *Commonwealth*, or a *New Change*; That ſhall be ſecured I count by theſe things.

Again, there is no doubt but particular men will have their ſeveral wayes of vent for their malice and luſts: But what is this to the *Publick Spirit*, which is *that* alone that over-rules and overturns the State of Nations. The queſtion is then, what is the way to ſecure this Univerſal National Spirit? In the ſecurity of *that*, lies the Intereſt of Government.

There is a ſhrewder Objection made to me lately, than any I think this Book hath, by a Gentleman of the Temple, againſt my

my Plea for Indulgence as the means of Peace. He did suppose at the bottom, that the discontent bandied about for Toleration, doth arise mainly from persons affected to their interest in Bishops Lands and such ill-bought Estates: and that when Indulgence is granted, this root of bitterness will remain still, for the old Cause, & the old Change.

I answer hereunto, That supposing this to be true, so far as it will hold, that is as to a few concerned men, yet shall Toleration (accompanied with the like Publick Good Things as that) disarm those silent Grandees of the total faction, who when they have nothing left them to say for the stirring up the Commons to dis-

discontent, the Weapon is taken out of their hands, and they incapacitated for doing longer hurt; for, as for their own concerns and losses they may grumble to themselves, but the People cannot possibly therein be concerned at all with them.

There is one thing more, which is (I think) the chief that would ask something to be said to it, and that is this; He hath it up several times, that those of us that are for Moderation, do *not know what we would have* our selves, and should *fix our own latitude*, and offer them the particulars, and then *he might say more to us*. If the Gentleman be one of that quality, that if we offer him terms of Pacification he can procure

procure us a favourable reception, I do suppose that is a thing will readily be concluded upon: but if he be a person of no interest, or at least of no such interest, but would have us to offer him Proposals only, to hear what he can say of them, I doubt very much, by what he hath here said already, that it will be very hardly worth our labour. As for my self, when he so solemnly *takes leave to profess he is not able to guess what it is this Author really would have*, I will tell him; I would really have *Moderation* in the general, and as for particulars I leave it, *de industria*, to the Wisdom, Consultation, and Choice of the Parliament; who can, if they please, take

take order for the most sober of the *Non-conformists* to meet and offer their Proposals, upon which they may debate accordingly, and consider of the matter, so, as to avoid the Inconveniencies which this man offers against, and take in the Conveniencies which others offer for, a prudent, consulted, stated Toleration; and so will this Book of his be answered to purpose. Now if this be not more considerably offered, than for any one *single* person to think himself *sufficient* alone *for these things* let this Gentleman himself judg. In the mean time let him give me leave to *wonder* at his *profession*, that he knows not what it is I would have, and yet is so

angry

angry with me, that I would have any thing, if it be not only what he would have. But does this Writer think indeed I have left this matter so rawly? Does not he find that I have propofed his Majesties Declaration concerning these affairs, to be passed into a Law, for the means of our Accommodation? And what doth he think of that Proposal? Why doth he not (if he can do as he sayes) *tell us their minds* about that? How can he call upon me thus, that they know not what we would have, when I offer him that! And what abatements will he demand? Who can tell me a way to offer what we would have more solidly and probably, than this is? And who

is

is there hath the face, or heart, to think That Declaration not worthy of his regard? I have moreover proposed the refreshment of our old Statutes against *Pluralities*, and what is it makes this Gentleman quite mute to this? Let him answer me, and I will plead with them out of *Hooker*, from the ground of suffering Pluralities at first, which was in regard that there were so few able learned Ministers, that they were fain to take upon themselves to be the Pastors, and entertain such insufficient men as they had, under them: whereas now the Land is filled with many serious, learned and painfull Ministers, that are ejected, and want Charges. I will plead with

with them from Politicks; There is according to all that sort of learned Authors, a *Universale, eminens dominium majestatis*, unto which the *dominium privatorum* must give place, and it is so far therefore from doing any wrong, that it were doing the greatest justice for God and man that can be, to do thus. I will plead with them out of the Bible, before God and his blessed Angels, How will they answer in their sight for the Souls of the People committed to their care, being charged from the Lord, to *feed the Flock, over which the holy Ghost hath made them Overseers?* I will plead with them from Equity and Reason, before the Heads of our Tribes, the

Par-

Parliament assembled, whom God we hope, *like the children of Issachar*, hath now made *wise-hearted to know* what is to be done *at such a time*, that it is not pious, not fit, not political, (that is, not for the Common-good) that any man living should have more than *one Benefice* with charge of Souls, and one Dignity at one time, when so many, no less learned Men, and like to become more painfull Shepheards, have never a one, for themselves and families to live upon. I will plead with them, that whatsoever things are substantially good for the Community, and are opposed only by the interest of private persons, These are things truly worthy the

the Consideration of Parliaments. *God send us Publick-spirited Gentlemen, who are Lovers of their Country rather than Lovers of Themselves. God save our Soveraign, and God prosper Moderation.*

Octob. 12. 1667.

FINIS.

Page 9. line 17. for *wilness*, read *wilness*.